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INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 AF-08 ARA-06 EA-07 EUR-12 NEA-10 SIG-01

MMO-01 CIAE-00 CU-02 INR-07 NSAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04

H-02 L-03 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 TRSE-00

AID-05 ABF-01 OMB-01 NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00

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EUR: DGOOT

IO/UNESCO:RFORSTER

ARA:GMONSMA

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO ALL AFRICAN DIPLOMATIC POSTS IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY BOGOTA IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY BRASILIA IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY CARACAS IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY HELSINKI IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY LISBON IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY MADRID IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY MEXICO IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEO IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO IMMEDIATE

INFO AMEMBASSY NAIROBI

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

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 ${\bf XMT\; AMEMBASSY\; GABORONE}$

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

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E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: OCON, PORG, UNESCO, PFOR

SUBJECT: UNESCO 19TH GENERAL CONFERENCE: RESOLUTION ON JERUSALEM EXCAVATIONS

REF: STATE 278661

1. JERUSALEM EXCAVATIONS RESOLUTION WAS PASSED AT UNESCO GENERAL CONFERENCE ON NOVEMBER 19 IN COMMISSION BY A VOTE OF 70 FOR, 25 AGAINST, WITH 14 ABSTENTIONS. THIS RESOLUTION WILL BE VOTED ON IN PLENARY NOV. 27. OCCUPIED TERRITORIES RESOLUTION, AFTER EARLIER ADOPTION IN COMMISSION BY VOTE OF 73-6-30, WAS ADOPTED IN PLENARY BY 61-5-28. DIFFERENCE ON OCCUPIED TERRITORIES VOTES LARGELY THE RESULT OF ABSENCES OF SEVERAL AFRICAN COUNTRIES. IN LIGHT OF THESE RESULTS, AND PECULIAR DRAFTING OF JERUSALEM RESOLUTION, THIS MESSAGE ASKS ACTION ADDRESSEES FOR FURTHER APPROACHES TO HOST GOVERNMENTS PRIOR TO RESOLUTION'S CONSIDERATION IN PLENARY SESSION. USDEL BELIEVES IT HAS EXHAUSTED POSSIBILITIES FOR LOBBYING IN NAIROBI AND FURTHER CHANGES ARE UNLIKELY WITHOUT INSTRUCTIONS FROM CAPITALS.

2. THIS LONG RESOLUTION (REPEATED SEPTEL EXCEPT TO LILONGWE, KIGALI, LOME, MAPUTO, MASERU, MBABANE, OUAGADOUGOU, PORT LOUIS) IS THE RESULT OF PROLONGED AFRO-ARAB NEGOTIATIONS TO MODERAGE LANGUAGE ARABS ORIGINALLY PROPOSED. AFRICAN STRATEGY APPARENTLY WAS TO MOVE MOST OF CONTROVERSIAL PROVISIONS OUT OF OPERATIVE SECTION INTO PREAMBULAR PORTION. IN TAIL-WAGSDOG RESULT, RESOLUTION HAS 22 PREAMBULAR PARAS WHICH, AFTER USUAL REFERENCES TO IMPORTANCE OF ISSUE AND UNESCO ROLE IN IT, AND TO ALLEGED ISRAELI ALTERATIONS OF JERUSALEM'S CULTURAL MONUMENTS, CITES, AND IN SOME CONFIDENTIAL

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CASES SUMMARIZES AT LENGTH, LARGE NUMBER OF GENERAL ASSEMBLY AND SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS ON JERUSALEM QUESTION AS A WHOLE WHICH GO BACK TO 1967. PREAMBLE THEN QUOTES AT LENGTH PORTION OF 18TH UNESCO GC JERUSALEM RESOLUTION WHICH CUT OFF UNESCO SUPPORT TO PROJECTS IN ISRAEL. FOLLOWING THIS, EIGHT FURTHER PREAMBULAR PARAGRAPHS ASSERT THAT ISRAEL HAS CHALLENGED UNESCO'S AUTHORITY, ALLEGE AGAIN THAT ISRAELI EXCAVATIONS ENDANGER CULTURAL PROPERTY, AND ASSERT THAT THESE EXCAVATIONS ARE UNDER THE CONTROL OF THE GOI DESPITE ITS CLAIMS TO THE CONTRARY. IN MOST OFFENSIVE OF SIX BRIEF OPERATIVE PARAGRAPHS, RESOLUTION CALLS FOR CONTINUANCE OF 18TH GC BAN ON UNESCO SUPPORT TO PROJECTS

IN ISRAEL,AND "AFFIRMS" THAT ISRAEL IS RESPONSIBLE FOR "CASTING DOUBT ON THE SINCERITY OF ITS DESIRE TO PARTICIPATE IN THE COMMUNITY OF MEMBER STATES" AND FOR "EXPOSING ITSELF TO ISOLATION."

- 3. RESOLUTION IS THUS LONG INDICTMENT OF ISRAEL WHICH ALSO REAFFIRMS SANCTIONS IMPOSED BY 18TH GC. THESE FACTORS TAKEN TOGETHER VERY LIKELY TO PROVOKE STRONG REACTION IN CONGRESSIONAL AND PUBLIC OPINION WHICH MAY WELL ENDANGER RESUMPTION OF FUNDING AND, THUS, CONTINUED US PARTICIPATION IN UNESCO. IN THEIR APPROACHES, ALL POSTS SHOULD MAKE THIS POINT UNLESS THEY DECIDE, AFTER FULL CONSIDERATION, THAT IT WOULD BE COUNTER-PRODUCTIVE TO DO SO.
- 4. IN ACTING ON FOLLOWING REQUEST FOR REPRESENTATIONS TO HOST GOVERNMENTS, EACH POST SHOULD FIRST ATTEMPT CONFIRM VOTE INDICATED BELOW FOR ITS COUNTRY. USDEL NAIROBI MADE EVERY EFFORT CORRECTLY RECORD THESE VOTES, BUT SOME ERRORS MAY HAVE BEEN MADE IN MONITORING FAST SHOW-OF-HANDS IN ROOM WITH POOR SIGHT-LINES.
- 5. FOR BOGOTA, MEXICO CITY, CARACAS, BRASILIA, BUENOS AIRES, MONTEVIDEO, SAN JOSE, SANTIAGO, HELSINKI, BUCHAREST. YOUR HOST GOVERNMENTS APPEAR TO HAVE ABSTAINED IN COMMISSION VOTE. OBJECTIVE OF YOUR APPROACHES IS TO OBTAIN OPPOSITION ON THE RESOLUTION AS A WHOLE. FAILING THAT, YOU SHOULD SEEK HOST GOVERNMENT CONFIDENTIAL

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AGREEMENT TO OPPOSE IN A PARA-BY-PARA VOTE (IF HELD)
TO PREAMBULAR AND OPERATIVE PARAS REAFFIRMING 18TH GC
SANCTIONS AGAINST ISRAEL. POSTS SHOULD POINT OUT THAT
STRUCTURE AND DRAFTING OF RESOLUTION MAKE THESE
UNCONSTITUTIONAL SANCTIONS APPEAR TO BE UNESCO'S CONFIRMATION OF VARIOUS ALLEGATIONS AGAINST ISRAEL IN A
HETEROGENEOUS COLLECTION OF GA AND SC RESOLUTIONS, MANY
OF WHICH HAVE LITTLE RELATION TO PRECISE ISSUE OF
EXCAVATIONS.

6. FOR MADRID AND LISBON. YOUR GOVERNMENTS VOTED IN FAVOR OF THE RESOLUTION IN COMMISSION. SINCE SWITCH TO OPPOSITION IS NOT LIKELY, OBJECTIVE IS TO OBTAIN THEIR ABSTENTION IN PLENARY ON THE RESOLUTION AS A WHOLE, OR, THAT FAILING, AT LEAST ABSTENTION ON THE SANCTIONS PARAGRAPHS IF A PARA-BY-PARA VOTE IS HELD. ARGUMENTS IN PARA 5 SHOULD BE USED. IN ADDITION, WE BELIEVE THESE GOVERNMENTS MAY BE RESPONSIVE TO STRESS ON UNFAIRNESS OF SELECTIVE SANCTIONS, AND THEIR PARTICULAR INAPPROPRIATENESS IN UNESCO WHICH HAS SPECIAL CAPACITY AND CONSTITUTIONAL MANDATE TO PROMOTE UNDERSTANDING AND COLLABORATION BETWEEN DEVELOPED AND DEVELOPING COUNTRIES. DIVISIVENESS

CREATED BY SUCH UNFAIRNESS AND EXTRA-LEGAL PRACTICES ALSO DIMINISHES ROLE WHICH GOVERNMENTS SUCH AS GOP AND GOS CAN PARTICULARLY PLAY IN PROMOTING SUCH UNDERSTANDING IN BODIES LIKE UNESCO. POSTS SHOULD ALSO NOTE INSTRUCTIONS PARA 3 ABOVE.

7. FOR AF POSTS. AF COUNTRIES (EXCEPT FOR KENYA)
APPARENTLY VOTED FOR JERUSALEM RESOLUTION. APPROACHES
SHOULD BE MADE BY POSTS WHICH CONSIDER THAT THEIR HOSTS
MAY RESPOND FAVORABLY AND HAVE THE FACILITIES TO
COMMUNICATE THEIR INSTRUCTIONS TO NAIROBI. YAOUNDE,
N'DJAMENA, LIBREVILLE, BANJUL, ACCRA, ABIDJAN, PORT LOUIS,
DAKAR, FREETON, KHARTOUM AND OUAGADOUGOU SHOULD NOTE
THAT THEIR HOST GOVERNMENTS CO-SPONSORED RESOLUTION.
IN APPROACHES, POSTS SHOULD EXPRESS OUR APPRECIATION FOR
SUSTAINED EFFORTS MADE BY AFRICAN GOVERNMENTS TO NEGOTIATE
MORE MODERATE LANGUAGE IN BOTH OCCUPIED TERRITORIES AND
JERUSALEM RESOLUTIONS. POSTS SHOULD SAY THAT USG SHARES

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THEIR REGRET THAT DESPITE BEST EFFORTS, THESE COUNTRIES WERE NOT ABLE TO REMOVE SANCTIONS LANGUAGE. POSTS SHOULD THEN URGE THAT HOST GOVERNMENTS INDICATE THEIR CONTINUING DISSATISFACTION WITH SANCTIONS LANGUAGE BY ABSTENTION ON WHOLE RES, OR BY ABSTENTION ON SANCTIONS IN PARA-BY-PARA VOTE IF HELD, OR BY ABSENCE AS NUMBER OF AFRICAN COUNTRIES CHOSE TO DO IN PLENARY VOTE ON OCCUPIED TERRITORIES. POSTS SHOULD NOT RPT NOT USE CRITICAL ANALYSIS GIVEN ABOVE OF RESULTS OF AFRO-ARAB DRAFTING OF THE JERUSALEM RESOLUTION (PARAS 1, 2 ABOVE).

8. PLEASE REPORT RESULTS OF REPRESENTATIONS IMMEDIATE DEPARTMENT INFO NAIROBI, PARIS. IN CASE OF AF POSTS DECIDING NOT TO MAKE REPRESENTATIONS, WE WOULD APPRECIATE SIMPLE STATEMENT TO THAT EFFECT. KISSINGER

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TO: ALL AFRICAN DIPLOMATIC POSTS

BOGOTA BRASILIA BUCHAREST **BUENOS AIRES**

CARACAS

HELSINKI
LISBON
MADRID
MEXICO
MONTEVIDEO
SAN JOSE
SANTIAGO INFO NAIROBI
PARIS
TEL AVIV
USUN N Y
XMT GABORONE
PRETORIA
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